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Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. Zwei Bände. Im Auftrage des Prinzen Alexander zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH CURTIUS. (Stuttgart und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1907. Pp. viii, 440; 565.)

Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst. Two volumes. Authorized by Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst and edited by FRIEDRICH CURTIUS. English edition supervised by GEORGE W. CHRYSTAL, B.A., formerly exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: William Heinemann. 1906. Pp. ix, 405; ix, 519.)

By inherited position, by talents and by training, Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst was peculiarly qualified for German public life. As head of one branch of a great South German house, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was still a reigning house, he was in theory of equal rank with the kings and emperors whom he served. His means were not indeed so large as to permit him to assume, without regard to salary, positions which entailed heavy outlays for representation, but they were large enough to enable him to live in comfort and dignity without office. His perceptions were quick and his judgment was sound. His natural abilities were conscientiously developed; he was not only an educated man but, in the fullest sense of the word, a man of culture. He was never a maker of winged words, but he attained the power of clear, forcible and even eloquent speech. His industry was unusual, even in Germany. Bismarck's standard of industry was not a low one, and he spared his associates as little as himself; but in 1880, when Hohenlohe had acted as the chancellor's substitute through the summer, Bismarck told him that he had made only one mistake—he had worked too hard (II. 306).

In character Prince Hohenlohe stood even more conspicuously above the average of public men. He was faithful to the causes which he espoused, loyal to the rulers whom he served, honest and above-board with his fellow-workers.

Professedly and sincerely religious, his religion was independent of dogma. A Roman Catholic, he received the doctrines of his church as matters of faith—"the acceptance of that which the church has prescribed" (II. 453). As regards the relations of church and state, he stood always, as he wrote to his brother in 1872, "on the side of the Ghibellines" (I. 91). Like most nineteenth-century Germans whose ancestors were "immediate to the empire", he was strongly nationalist in his sympathies: he was a German first, a Bavarian afterwards. Finally, although socially an aristocrat to his finger-tips, he was by education and by conviction a liberal in politics.

These data not only explain his political career, but make it seem so necessary that it might conceivably have been predicted. It is noticeable, indeed, that for every important post which he held his name had long before been suggested. The antitheses which he had reconciled, or at least surmounted, in the attainment of his own views prepared him for the part which, if not the most brilliant, is still perhaps the most useful that a public man can play, the part of mediator; and in this part his evident integrity, commanding the confidence of all with whom he came in contact, contributed largely to his success. As mediator between the Catholic South and the Protestant North, between dynastic particularism and national patriotism, between monarchic authority and popular aspirations and finally, at the end of his career, between a somewhat headstrong young emperor and the princes and parliamentary parties of Germany, he rendered services which entitle him to a high place among those who created and consolidated the new empire.

In spite of the prince's eminent qualifications for public life, his first attempts to open for himself a political career were unsuccessful. In 1848 he threw himself into the movement for German unity and undertook a diplomatic mission in behalf of the provisional imperial government. This course excluded him from office during the ensuing period of reaction; and until the close of the year 1866 his sole political activity was as a hereditary member of the Bavarian upper house.

The events of 1866 necessitated a change of ministry in Bavaria which needed as its prime minister a man who represented the now dominant national idea. Prince Hohenlohe assumed the premiership at the end of the year 1866 and retained it until 1870. During his conduct of Bavarian affairs he held loyally to the Prussian alliance, strove to make such preparations as were possible for the ultimate inclusion of Bavaria in a reunited Germany, and attempted (apparently with little hope of success) to bring about that federal union of the South German states for which provision had been made in the Peace of Prague.

When, after his retirement from office, the Franco-German War and the irresistible pressure of the national idea forced the South German states to come into the new empire on practically the same terms as those on which the smaller North German states had entered the North German union, Prince Hohenlohe found no difficulty in accepting this result. During the next four years his principal political activity was in the Imperial Diet, of which he was chosen first vice-president. He was one of the founders of the Imperial party (*Reichspartei*), which was practically the right wing of the Liberals and which supported Bismarck's policies.

During the last year of his premiership in Bavaria, Prince Hohenlohe had endeavored to secure joint action on the part of the European states with Catholic populations against the impending declaration of papal infallibility. In this he was unsuccessful; but in the Imperial

Diet he continued to oppose Ultramontane tendencies and warmly supported the law expelling the Jesuits from Germany.

In 1874 he was appointed ambassador in Paris. He retained this post while acting as temporary head of the Imperial Foreign Office in 1880, and gave it up only to become governor of Alsace-Lorraine in 1885. In 1894 he became chancellor of the empire, succeeding Count Caprivi. When he assumed this responsible and difficult office, he was a few months older than Bismarck had been when he relinquished it; but despite his age he held it for six years. "Need of rest I really have not", he wrote to a friend in January, 1899; but he was determined that his official career should be ended of his own motion, and he twice asked to be relieved of his duties: first in the spring of 1899, on the completion of his eightieth year, and again in the autumn of 1900. On the second occasion his resignation was accepted; with decent regrets, indeed, but with a promptness which showed him that it was "*die höchste Zeit*". Learning that Bülow was to succeed him, he "drove home with [his] mind at rest". The contrast between Bismarck's tempestuous exit, ten years earlier, and this serene withdrawal is eminently characteristic of the two men. To life itself Hohenlohe bade farewell with the same cheerful tranquillity. He had been as fortunate in his home life as in his public career; and in the year before his death he wrote to his sister: "I have thankfully to look back upon a happy life, such as has been allotted to few mortals" (II. 541, 542).

Prince Hohenlohe not only preserved all papers which seemed to him of value but also kept a diary. There were few men of political importance whom he did not meet; and the confidence which he inspired was so great that monarchs and statesmen, foreign as well as German, talked to him with unusual unreserve. Such conversations the prince recorded, often putting the utterances of his interlocutors in quotation marks. The internal evidence of the fidelity of his reports is very strong; the persons whom he quotes speak with their own voices, not with his. In reporting Bismarck, for example, Hohenlohe's record is as phonographic as Busch's. The diary when published in full will be a source of the first importance.

In accordance with the prince's instructions, his youngest son, Prince Alexander, to whom his papers were entrusted, secured the assistance of Friedrich Curtius in the compilation of the present *Memoirs*. For the period 1866-1890, copious extracts from the diary are given; and these, with correspondence and other documents, throw much light upon German and European affairs, particularly upon the relations between South Germany and the North German Federation, upon the conflict between the German states and the Roman Catholic church and upon the movement of French politics from 1874 to 1885. Above all, the *Memoirs* help us and will help the future historian to realize the personalities of many of the leading actors on the European political stage. After 1890, for obvious reasons, the material given

us is less full and less interesting; and for the period of the prince's chancellorship, although the editor had abundant notes at his disposal (II. 516), the extracts which he has ventured to publish are brief and politically unimportant.

It is not wholly clear why Prince Alexander should have fallen into disgrace for permitting the publication of these *Memoirs*. There are, indeed, a few passages concerning the parents of the reigning emperor, their relations to one another and his relations to them, which he can hardly find pleasant reading. Nothing is told that was not already known or surmised, but in some instances what was previously unattested gossip is now based on the most competent testimony. Passing to slighter things: the emperor can hardly like to have it recorded that at his own table he "talked incessantly" (II. 533); or that at the end of one of his after-dinner speeches Moltke quoted to Hohenlohe Goethe's "*ein politisch Lied ein garstig Lied*" and expressed a hope that the imperial utterances would not get into the newspapers (II. 463). On the other hand there is much in these *Memoirs* that should gratify the emperor. No account of the breach with Bismarck has been published heretofore that sets William's action in so favorable a light. Apparently the Bismarck dynasty had become impossible: Herbert was more overbearing than his father and it was necessary that both should go. In the ensuing quarrel, Hohenlohe thinks William's conduct wise. In general he found the young emperor "*klug und pflichttreu*" (II. 445). It is probable that the emperor was angered not so much by the contents of the *Memoirs* as by the fact that they were published without his approval.

All the foregoing references are to the German edition. The English version is so unsatisfactory that no writer who values his reputation for accuracy can safely cite it without examining the German text. The translation seems to have been made in great haste and by a number of different persons. Of these, some were unaware of the meaning of common German words; more were hopelessly perplexed by idiomatic turns and figurative phrases; all were at sea as often as any knowledge of German law or politics or history or geography was required. Division of labor among persons equally incompetent to deal with technical terms has produced some amusing results; for example, "*Landesausschuss*" is translated in eight different ways, all wrong. There are also numerous omissions. To mistranslations and oversights add misprints, which are numerous and occasionally grotesque, and it is clear that the English edition of the *Memoirs*, in its present state, is a book which should not have been put upon the market.

MUNROE SMITH.